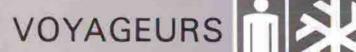
special history study

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NATIONAL PARK / MINNESOTA







Pritz, David L.

Special history study on the Dawson Trail and other

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SPECIAL HISTORY STUDY ON THE DAWSON TRAIL AND OTHER TRANSPORTATION ROUTES RELATING TO

VOYAGEURS NATIONAL PARK MINNESOTA

August 1986

by David L. Fritz

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U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service Denver Service Center Central Team

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CHAPTER ONE: THE DAWSON TRAIL AND OTHER TRANSPORTATION ROUTES

A. The Dawson/Gladman Expedition of 1857

The Dawson Trail or Dawson Route, an immigrants' trail that covered the distance between Lake Superior and the Red River country via an all-Canada route, was named after Simon J. Dawson, a surveyor whose name became more intimately connected with the trail than any of the names of its other early explorers. The trail had a life of twenty-five years, 1858 to 1883, if considered as an ens rationis, but a real life of only a decade, 1868 to 1878, when considering noticeable activities somewhere along the road. In other words, there was no construction taking place on it from 1858 to 1868, and hardly anyone traveled on it from 1878 to 1883.

Simon J. Dawson, who was a native of Trois Rivieres, between Montreal and Quebec, was also a surveyor by trade, and came to be known as "Smooth Bore Dawson" by those who respected him. He acquired this nickname because of his even temper and a quiet way of speaking. This reputation for coolness was tried over the years, particularly in connection with the road named after him, and it might be said that he repudiated the Smooth Bore title when he quit in disgust as superintendent of the route in 1874.²

In actuality the road might just as well have been named after George Gladman, the director of the 1857 survey expedition that blazed an exploratory trail from Fort William on Lake Superior to Fort Garry on the Red River. Gladman was paid the munificent sum of 35 shillings a day for leading the party. His son Henry went as his assistant with the pay of 20 pounds per month. Gladman had a civil engineer along, W.H.E. Napier, who was to assess the physical obstructions along the route and suggest ways to surmount them. Napier got 30 shillings a day, a mite less than Gladman. H.H. Killaly went along as "leveller" and was

paid 20 pounds a month for this service. Among the other high-priced help, of course, was Simon J. Dawson, also a civil engineer, but functioning as the expedition's surveyor; and Professor Henry Youle Hind, the party's geologist. Both experts were given 30 shillings a day. Hind had an assistant named W. Fleming, and Dawson was given an assistant by the Crown Land Office whose name was A.W. Wells. Besides the professionals, there was a group of chainmen, general assistants, assistant levellers, rodmen, and, of course, canoemen. The canoemen got five shillings a day and all of the other non-professionals were paid seven shillings sixpence per day. ³

The object of the trek was to find the best overland communication route between Lake Superior and the Red River Country. A secondary objective was to make an estimation of the economic potential of the intervening country with the hope that settlers would be lured to every portion of the route. Thus if agriculture were viable along every mile of the track, or even at certain close intervals along it, settlers would be attracted not only to the terminus, but to the way stations. It was an attempt to mimic the pattern of Americans on the Great Plains without having equivalent terrain to work with.

Two of the noteworthy results of Gladman's 1857 expedition, which began in late July and reached its destination in early September were the separate reports written by Professor Hind and Simon Dawson. Perhaps because of the varying purposes of these two men, or lack of forceful leadership on Gladman's part, the two principal professionals in the group were frequently separated geographically from one another, and eventually produced conflicting reports at the termination of the trip. Hind provided a map with his narrative that indicated he had diverged radically from Dawson's route, starting at the Lac des Milles Lacs. Hind went nearly due west from there to pick up the drainage of the Seine River, while Dawson went off to the southwest from Mille Lacs, picking up a chain of lakes that eventually drained into the Maligne River. From thence he proceeded through the north-central portion of Lac la Croix, turned to the northwest from it, to pick up the Namakan River which

drained into the east end of Namakan Lake. From there, Dawson still had to make two more portages to get into Rainy Lake. 5

From the words it takes to describe the difference between Hind's and Dawson's routes, above, it seems that Hind's route is far superior and yet, when the military expedition of 1870 came through this country, they adopted Dawson's preference, probably because Dawson had been appointed superintendent of the road. Both routes had the merit, from a British or Canadian point of view, that they each stayed at some distance from the boundary line, a desideratum given them by their superiors. Dawson's route came closest to the boundary at Lac la Croix, and from there a wayward canoeist could easily wander into American territory. Doubtlessly during the 1870 military expedition, a lot of British soldiers and Canadian militiamen paddled errantly off into American waters. Hind's route from the River Seine brought him close to American territory for the first time only in Rainy Lake, and then he had a broad expanse of water to tell him clearly that to the right was Canada and to the left was the United States.

An important point to be made from the above mention of the border line is the fact that the Dawson Trail never does enter into any portion of present-day Voyageurs National Park, except as mentioned above when lost travelers may have accidentally wandered off into American territory.

Dawson's 1857 narrative, first printed in 1858, only briefly mentions that portion of the trail which comes closest to present-day Voyageurs Park. He described his arrival into the east end of Lake Namakan from the Namakan River in this way:

The traverse across Nameaukan [sic] Lake is six and a half miles in length, the lake itself extending more than double that distance, in a due west direction. At the extremity of the traverse is the new portage, where the descent is eight and a half feet. A circuitous narrow river [the Bear River], without perceptible current, passing through a reedy expanse, fringed with low willow for about three miles. The canoe route then takes a winding course, whose general direction is nearly due

north, for a distance of two and a half miles, [the Canadian Channel on the east side of Oak Point Island, opposite Kettle Falls, the American or International Channel] when turning due westward we suddenly arrive at the open and beautiful but undescribably barren and desolate region of Rainy Lake.

As the levels of the waters in this vicinity have been much affected by the Kettle Falls dam in modern times, it is difficult to compare the aspect Dawson saw in 1857 with what we see now in passing from Namakan Lake to Rainy Lake. In a table accompanying his narrative, Dawson told of two portages between Namakan Lake and Rainy Lake. The first was six chains, or 396 feet long and discharged into a pond. The pond was twenty chains or 1320 feet long and a chain and a half wide. Portage number two was eleven chains or 726 feet long and brought them to Rainy Lake. These were the 24th and 25th portages they had encountered since Lake Superior. They had descended 428.91 feet since crossing the height of land near Lake Superior and had travelled about 235 miles since leaving that lake.

Dawson also gave a few facts about Rainy Lake that he derived from an 1826 survey that was made to fulfill requirements under the seventh article of the Treaty of Ghent. From this earlier report we learn that the voyageurs called Rainy Lake "Lac La Pluie"; that it was 225 miles west of Lake Superior and 85 miles southeast of Lake of the Woods. In itself, Rainy Lake was 50 miles long and 38½ wide, and was composed of three nearly equal troughs, the first oriented east-west, and the other two in a northerly direction. The earlier report also gave the following descriptive statement:

The shores of Rainy Lake are generally low, and often consist of naked shapeless masses of rock, with marshy intervals, or they rise in ridges which become hills 300-500 feet high, half a mile to four miles from the lake. The timber seems to be very small and thin in the marshes, and on the islands, which exceed five hundred in number, the largest growth were observed. On the whole, the general aspect of the shores of Rainy Lake is very forbidding, and furnishes almost everywhere, on the ridges and hill flanks, a picture of hopeless sterility and desolate waste. Dr. Bigsby [the 1826 expedition geologist] says that there is but little loose debris about Rainy

Lake, the earth or gravel banks being few, and seldom exceed a few feet in thickness. Whenever the land rises, for the most part bleached and naked rocks occur for many square miles together.

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Whether Dr. Bigsby's gloomy assessment of the Rainy Lake environs has any validity for the modern visitor to Voyageurs National Park, is a question that could be debated endlessly. Perhaps he could be faulted for speaking only as a geologist, or that he concentrated his attentions more on the northern shores of Rainy Lake, or that he saw the lake on a rainy day, or that he was not feeling well on that occasion, or a hundred other excuses, he certainly would meet up with a lot of objections from visitors to the region who have seen the place in the intervening hundred and fifty years.

There are various tallies of the mileage between Lake Superior and Fort Garry on the Red River. Dawson came up with 469 total miles in his 1859 report to Parliament, 319 miles of it by water and 150 miles by land. Mary Lou Pearson, in a recent article, used Hind's count when she recited the figures: 498½ total miles, 308 miles on navigable waters, 131½ miles on land, and 59 miles of broken navigation on the Seine River. Either way, Dawson concluded that the trails he and Hind had blazed were superior in directness to the more frequently used Pigeon River route along the boundary line, much frequented by the earlier voyageurs. This route totalled 635 miles. 10

The immediate result of the 1857 Gladman/Dawson expedition was that Dawson fell seriously ill near the end of the trek at Islington on the Winnipeg River and was obliged to stay put until salutary remedies administered by an Indian medicine man restored him sufficiently so that he could be moved to Fort Garry to spend a recuperative winter there. This illness resulted in Gladman, Hind and Dawson being scattered to the winds, with Gladman leaving the scene altogether, but at least carrying the journals back to civilization to inform the British/Canadian world of their findings. In May and June of 1858 Dawson had recovered enough to do an investigation of the lake region of present-day Manitoba. Hind

had gone back to Toronto in late 1857, but returned in June 1858 to do six months of exploration west of the Red River. 12

B. Dawson Appointed Superintendent of the Road, 1867

The American Civil War so obstructed events on the North American continent from 1861 to 1865 that Canadian government officials hardly had the leisure to contemplate such things as an overland route through the wilderness of western Ontario. Despite this hiatus, Sandford Fleming, another Canadian civil engineer, submitted a memorial in 1863 in behalf of the Red River people to petition for the construction of a territorial road from "Canada" to British Columbia. 13 In those days Canada consisted of the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario. They were constituted the Dominion of Canada by the British North America Act of March 29, 1867. Besides these, there were sparse settlements in the Red River country and on the west coast. Perennial fears that the Americans might stage a land grab for the western Canadian territories were among the pressing motives that brought Manitoba and British Columbia into the Dominion in 1871. At first, Manitoba consisted mainly of the Red River settlement, then approximately the lower third of the present province of the same name.

So it was in 1867 that interest in the wilderness road was revived and Dawson was selected to become the Superintendent of Road Construction under the Department of Public Works. The 1868 summer season was the first occasion when Dawson could set construction into motion. The basic outline of his plan was to build a corduroyed land road on either end of the trail, forty miles on the eastern end between Lake Superior and the height of land, and ninety miles of road between the eastern side of Lake of the Woods and Fort Garry on Red River. Between these two sections would be $305\frac{1}{2}$ miles of navigable water. ¹⁵

Besides delineating his proposed line of travel, Dawson presented in his 1868 report a discussion of the relative merits of canals versus railroads. He apparently was an advocate of the old school since he

favored canals over the newer railroads. Probably the rugged terrain and the mixture of innumerable lakes and rivers with heavy forest, led him to believe that the cost of a railroad through western Ontario was beyond the means of the Canadian government. He wrote:

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Now, while admitting the great advantages which would result from a work of this kind [a railroad], it must be borne in mind that the means for its construction cannot at present be obtained. There is no amount of argument, as to prospective advantages, which could procure the investment of twenty millions of dollars, which would be about its cost, in an undeveloped region, such as that through which it would pass. Theoretically, the idea may be a good one, but practically, it is at least premature.

So for the time being, Dawson thought that a series of locks at appropriate points on the water portions of the route would be cheaper, simpler and of greater utility than a railroad. He therefore saw his trail as a stopgap measure that would eventually be superceded by a railroad. He was correct, but he did not see that the route he devised would be so roundly criticized while it was functioning.

The government documents that were spawned after the appointment of Dawson indicate that the superintendent concentrated his construction efforts on the ends of the road during the first two work seasons of 1868 and 1869. ¹⁷ His report of June 30, 1870 related that 25 miles of road had been completed from Thunder Bay to the Mattawan River. The report anticipated the coming military expedition of 1870 when it told of the condition of the road and a description of the bridges, "in preparation for the passage of a military force in the spring." ¹⁸

C. Louis Riel, the Red River Rebellion, and Colonel Garnet Wolseley's Military Expedition of 1870

The military expedition referred to was that led by Colonel Garnet Wolseley against the Red River rebels led by Louis Riel, a half-breed malcontent who had taken military control of the settlement in late 1869. Riel and his followers had been stirred up by a clergyman who told the

rebels that the true meaning of recent government surveys in their region was that the government intended to rob them of their land which was held largely on squatters' rights. Even though Riel had his moment of glory in November of 1869 when he set up a provisional government at Fort Garry, his success was ephemeral, and he finally fled to Montana at the approach of Wolseley's troops. Riel stayed in exile for fifteen years, till 1885, when a similar opportunity tempted him to lead a second rebellion. This time the change in technology sealed Riel's fate. The completed Canadian Pacific Railway enabled the authorities to descend on Riel from several directions in a very great hurry. He was caught in May of 1885 and executed in November of that year. ¹⁹

Riel's rebellion probably produced greater effects on the condition of Dawson Road than it did on the political rights of his racial compatriots in the new province of Manitoba. All of a sudden a force of about fourteen hundred men descended upon Dawson's workplace and performed unthought of feats of construction in short order, allowing themselves to pass quickly through the area. Wolseley's narrative gives us a fair idea of the number of engineering projects his men completed in two short months between mid-May and mid-July 1870. Most of this work was done on the east end of the road between Fort William on Lake Superior and Lake Shebandowan, about forty-five miles inland. they conduroyed a road and built bridges over every natural obstacle. Since this was the place where logistics were most crucial, because the height of land and the stream flowages were all against them, they also sought alternative routes to traverse this first part of the route. The principal alternative was to trace the course of the Kaministiqua River; but its windings were too great, and it had the additional obstacle of Yet some of Wolseley's baggage was laboriously carried Kakabeka Falls. by this route. 20

Finally, when Wolseley's people surmounted the height of land portage in front of Lac des Milles Lacs, they had the blessed knowledge that after this geographical point all of the water flowage was in their favor and would hasten them to their destination at Fort Garry. Beyond

the public works on the east-end road, Wolseley also wanted to place steamboats or tugs on the principal lakes that lay along his path, but this was a chore left for Dawson in coming years. With it was the plan to build a few coffer dams in choice places to retard the flow of various streams so that a sufficient head of water could be maintained to float canoes continuously. This device was later used frequently by loggers to move their cargo. ²¹

Once Wolseley's force got under way about the middle of July 1870, it was strung out so that from front to rear there was an interval of a hundred and fifty miles. The fourteen hundred officers and men were made up of the First Battalion 60th Rifles, two battalions of Canadian militia, a detachment of Royal Engineers, and a detachment of Royal Artillery, with four seven-pounder guns. The head of the column reached Fort Frances on the 4th of August. Unfortunately Wolseley did not single out the terrain around Rainy Lake for a descriptive narrative, but he did boast proudly of his reaching Fort Frances on that date by saying:

The leading detachment reached this post on the 4th August. They had done two hundred miles in nineteen days having taken their boats, stores, etc. etc., over seventeen portages in that time, and having made a good practicable road at all these seventeen places. The troops in rear of them were able to make the journey quicker, as they found a made road and rollers laid down for the boats at every portage.

From that point the expedition ground onward to its inevitable conclusion with Riel fleeing and no battle ensuing. In addition, the Dawson Road got a tremendous engineering boost, with fourteen hundred men helping. Years later Wolseley summed up the expedition in this way:

As a military undertaking, the Red River Expedition was peculiar in many ways. I believe it was the cheapest operation we have ever carried out, when what was accomplished is fairly weighed and considered. The total expense was under 100,000 pounds. For that sum about 1,400 men were sent by rail and steamer some 52 miles and then in canoes and boats for 600 miles through a wilderness of rivers, lakes, forests and rocks,

where, as no food was to be obtained, everything required had to be taken with us and transported on the soldiers' backs over difficult portages for many miles.

In another place Wolseley summarized the mileages his party had traveled, 48 miles from Fort William or Thunder Bay to Lake Shebandowan, and 310 miles from there to Lake of the Woods, with seventeen intervening portages. For the last portion, from Lake of the Woods to Fort Garry, he had originally intended to proceed by a direct straight-line overland route of a hundred miles. But only sixty miles of this road had been completed, and he thought it imprudent to attempt construction work under the eyes of an enemy whose determination was an unknown quantity. He therefore did the cautious thing, proceeding downstream on the Winnipeg River to Lake Winnipeg, and turning south from there toward Fort Garry. This added 160 miles to the last leg of the journey, making it 260 miles in length. So his cumulative mileage was 618, the last segment being a deviation from the Dawson Route. ²⁴

D. Dawson Tries to Provide Amenities for Civilian Immigrants in 1871

The engineering results of Wolseley's expedition became clear in 1871 when the Department of Public Works established an Emigrant Transport Service on June 15 and opened the Dawson Road to immigrants. A full scale of fares and a descriptive narrative in Dawson's report in 1872 told the prospective traveler what to expect in regard to the methods of traveling the route. In another report, Dawson listed the specifics about each and every immigrant on the route: name, country, last place of residence, religion, age, marital status, children, trade or occupation, and where the tickets were issued.

E. George M. Grant's 1872 Trip on the Dawson Route

We are fortunate in regard to the 1872 travel season in that a fairly extensive journal by one of the wayfarers was later published. This was the work of the Reverend George M. Grant, a Nova Scotia clergyman who accompanied Sandford Fleming on his trip to ascertain the best route for

the coming Canadian Pacific Railway. They took the Dawson Route from Lake Superior to Fort Garry. 26

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Grant was the perpetual optimist on the trip and gave the most favorable description anyone has ever given of the ill-fated Dawson Route. Probably the clement weather he and Fleming encountered colored his account, or otherwise the rosy outlook of the enthusiast made him see opportunities where others saw difficulties. Yet Grant's account does reveal some of the amenities Dawson's engineers had given the route since construction began in 1868. He recited a list of steamers or tugs that had been stationed on the chain of lakes to tow the wayfarers' canoes along the way. In some instances the tugs were not functioning, but they were there. He found them on Lakes Shebandowan, Kashaboiwe, Lac des Mille Lacs, Sturgeon, Lac la Croix, Nequaquon and Rainy Lake. At Fort Frances two steamers were under construction, one for Rainy River and the other for Lake of the Woods. At every waystation or portage there was a station master and he had a shanty to give shelter to the travelers in the event of bad weather. Grant noticed a few cofferdams along the drainage of the Maligne River, built to even out the flow of that section so that low water would not stop the immigrants. 27 years later the famous Minnesota historian, Grace Lee Nute, excursioned along the Maligne and found ruined artifacts, both evidences of the steam tugs, their machinery, some of the dams, a dock or two, and traces of a corduroy road at one of the portages. 28

Grant was a bit vague in his narrative about the route as it approached Namakan Lake. He told of a steam launch that towed them for twenty-four miles on Lake Nequaquon; then they crossed Loon portage, ostensibly into Loon Lake and the Loon River; thence over Mud portage followed by a short paddle; thence over American portage; and finally down a sedgy river with low swampy shores into Namakan Lake. This route sounds like their party was following the boundary line after Lac La Croix. It is not necessarily a deviation from the Dawson Route, for Garnet Wolseley in his later memoir presented a map with two alternative routes for this section, the one down the Namakan River and the other along the border as recited above.

Grant did not give much description of this portion of the trip, but he did say a few words about Rainy Lake:

The shores of Rainy Lake are low, especially on the northern [Canadian] side, and the timber is small; the shores rocky, with here and there sandy beaches that have formed round little bays; scenery tame and monotonous, though the islets in some parts are numerous and beautiful.

By nine o'clock, we had made only thirty miles. Our steamer was small, the flotilla stretched out far and the wind was ahead. We therefore determined to camp; and by the advice of the engineer, steered for the north shore to what is called the Fifteen Mile House from Fort Frances, said house being two deserted log huts. In a little bay here, on the sandy beach, we pitched our tents and made rousing fires, though the air was warm and balmy, as if we were getting into a more southern region. . . . The others visited the emigrants to whom the log huts had been assigned, or sat around the fires smoking, or gathered bracken and fragrant artemisia for our beds.

Earlier that day, Grant and Fleming's party had caught up with the band of immigrants, mentioned in the passage above, who were waiting at the portage that gave them access to Rainy Lake. In describing them, Grant gave a hint about the severity of the ordeal endured by the average putative settler. The group included men, women and children; who had been on the road five days longer than Grant and Fleming, they were burdened with a great deal of baggage and were terribly tired. In their number was an elderly woman, eighty-five years old, whose complaints about illness brought a doctor to her assistance. She was fortunate to get such services, as doctors were seldom available on the trail. 31

When the party got to Fort Frances later, Grant observed the hulls of two steamers under construction, as mentioned previously. Each of the boats was more than a hundred feet long. 32

The rest of Grant's journey was relatively uneventful, but he did remark that the overland portion at the end of the route was quite uncomfortable. His unhappiness was compounded by a rainstorm, which broke his string of good luck. He referred to the section as "an abominable road" and complained as well about the black flies. 33 At the end he gave a summation about the entire road which is worthy of extensive quotation:

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Thus we finished our journey, from Lake Superior to Red River, by that Dawson road, of which all had previously heard much, in terms of praise or disparagement. The total distance is about five hundred and thirty miles; forty-five at the beginning and hundred and ten at the end by land; and three hundred and eighty miles between, made up of a chain of some twenty lakes, lakelets and lacustrine rivers, separated from each other by spits, ridges, or short traverses of land or granite rocks, that have to be portaged across. Over those three hundred and eighty miles the only land suitable for agriculture is along Rainy River, and, perhaps, around the Lake of the Woods. North and south the country is a wilderness of lakes, or tarns on a large scale, filling huge holes scooped out of primitive rock. The scenery is picturesque, though rather monotonous owing to the absence of mountains; the mode of travelling, whether the canoes are paddled or tugged, novel and delightful; and, if a tourist can afford a crew of Indians and three or four weeks' time, he is certain to enjoy himself, the necessity of roughing it adding zest to the pleasure.

The road has been proved on two occassions to be a military necessity for the Dominion, until a railway is built farther back from the boundary line. If Canada is to open up her North-West to all the world for colonization, there must be a road for troops, from the first: there are sufficient elements of disorder to make preparedness a necessity. As long as we have a road of our own, the United States would perhaps raise no objection to Canadian volunteers passing through Minnesota; were we absolutely dependent, it might be otherwise.

In speaking of this Dawson road it is only fair to give full credit for all that has been accomplished. Immense difficulties have been overcome, insomuch that, whereas it took Colonel Wolseley's force nearly three months, or from early in June to August 24th to reach Fort Garry from Thunder Bay, a similar expedition could now do the journey in two or three weeks.

But, as a route for trade, for ordinary travel or for emigrants to go west, the Dawson road, as it now exists, is far from satisfactory. Only by building a hundred and fifty-five miles or so of railway at the beginning and the end, and by overcoming the intervening portages in such a way that bulk would not have to be broken, could it be made to compete even

with the present route by Duluth and the railway thence to Pembina. The question, then, is simply whether or not it is wise to do this, at an expenditure of some millions on a road the greater part of which runs along the boundary line, after the Dominion has already decided to build a direct line of railway to the North-West. This year about seventy emigrants have gone by the road in the six weeks between June 20th and August 1st. The station-masters and other agents on the road, as a rule, do their very utmost; they have been well selected, and are spirited and intelligent men; but the task given them to do is greater than the means given will permit. The road is composed of fifteen or twenty independent pieces; is it any wonder if these often do not fit, especially as there cannot be unity of understanding and of plan, for there is no telegraph along, the route and it would be extremely difficult to construct one?

F. A Competing Route Through Minnesota

Grant's narrative is, in a way, an early epitaph for the Dawson Trail. He recited its limitations and saw that the railway was coming to replace it. His revelation that only about seventy travelers used it during some of the best weather of the summer season of 1872, shows that prospective settlers had not discovered it as the ideal way to get to the Red River country. The Americans completed a rail line across Minnesota to the Red River in 1869. This was the St. Paul and Pacific At its juncture with the river, travelers could use a steamboat or float on rafts down the river to the area of heaviest settlement. 36 This route was also not a picnic outing, but it was far superior to the Dawson Route when using comfort as the criterion of Besides, the Canadian government feared that the Minnesota route might populate the Red River settlement with too many Americans and flavor the place with an alien element whose sentiments were not totally in tune with their own interests. This influence was one among many to hasten the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

G. Government Reports During the 1870s

Meanwhile, back on the Dawson Road, the Public Works people continued to issue their annual reports about activities there. The 1871

report stated that no new construction had been undertaken. The 1873 report told about the addition of several more steam launches on some of the lakes and gave the number of immigrants who had used the route. Sandford Fleming, the railroad surveyor, did a report for the Canadian government in January of 1874 where he continued to heap praise on the Dawson Road, singling out the eastern end where he had had "a delightful ride."

The 1874 Public Works report told that the government had awarded a contract to the W.H. Carpenter Company to provide the traveler services along the Dawson Route. They were to work the line and carry both freight and passengers. A parallel report for the same year, this one to the Secretary of State, gave a summary statement of costs and number of immigrants traveling on the road. The report stated that 2,739 persons had utilized the route between June 15, 1871, and October 30, 1873. Of these, only 805 were bonafide immigrants. There is an internal contradiction in the report, as the 2,739 persons are supposed to include the 1,400 men of the Wolseley expedition who went through in the summer of 1870. Probably the opening date for the summary should have been stated as June 15, 1870 instead of 1871.

H. Discomfort Ruled the Dawson Route

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With the contract to the Carpenter Company, there came an intensification of the complaints about the road. There probably was never a moment when some segment of the corduroyed road or the corduroyed portages were not in need of repair. Even though travelers paid ten dollars each for passage, the Carpenter Company made more money just by taking the Canadian government subsidy for their services. Even though they promised to transport people in ten or twelve days and freight in fifteen to twenty days, it mattered little to them whether they carried few or many passengers. Either way, they received their \$75,000 subsidy.

One story tells the plight of a Dawson Road traveler in 1874:

The story is told of one luckless settler arriving in a pitiable state of exhaustion and dilapidation at the office of Donald A. Smith, M.P., in Winnipeg and proclaiming: "Well, look at me, ain't I a healthy sight? I've come by the Government water route from Thunder Bay and it's taken me twenty-five days to do it. During that time I've been half starved on victuals I wouldn't give a swampy Indian. The water used to pour into my bunk of nights, and the boat was so leaky that every bit of baggage I've got is waterlogged and ruined. But that ain't all. I've broke my arm and sprained my ankle helping to carry half a dozen trunks over a dozen portages, and when I refused to take a paddle in one of the boats, an Ottawa Irishman told me to go to h[ell] and said that if I gave him any more d[amned] chat [sic] he'd let me get off and walk to Winnipeg."

This man's unhappy lament was repeated manifold by numerous travelers. Others complained about the various station-masters as being "brutes" or "mean and surly." The baggage handling frequently got low marks. One steamboat captain on Rainy Lake had more concern for his pile of wood than for the passengers. In a cloudburst he refused to shelter his passengers under a tarpaulin that was covering his woodpile. He at least had a mitigating excuse that if he lost steam pressure in the boiler, the boat would drift forever beneath the drenching sky. In the end, however, the passengers seized the tarpaulin while the angry engineer waved an ax at them. ⁴⁰

Another observer, who visited Prince Arthur's Landing on Thunder Bay saw American agents attempting to lure Canadian immigrants away from the Dawson Route, arguing that Minnesota and/or Dakota were more hospitable places. 41

1. Dawson and His Road Part Company, 1874

Finally in July of 1874 the difficulties with the trail came to a head. Dawson himself was sent out along the route to deal directly with disguntled passengers. He found an angry mob stranded at the North West Angle of the Lake of the Woods. Even though the victims of his

road were in a half starved condition, they had enough energy remaining to generate a quantity of holy wrath against the Carpenter contractors who were in no hurry to find them transportation to Winnipeg. Besides hunger, they had suffered all of the usual indignities, like leaky boats, ruined baggage, impressment to labor at portages, compulsion to fish for themselves or starve, duress to spend restless nights in dirty dilapidated shanties, and coercion to walk when wagons were wanting, and general humiliation by insults and threats from the company's employees. 42

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Dawson solved the problem of the hour, but it was the death knell for the road named after him. Smooth Bore Dawson used up his last reserve of even temperament to commandeer some Red River carts driven by half-breed drivers and paid them to take the survivors to Winnipeg. When the momentary crisis was over, Dawson resigned his post as superintendent of the route and recommended to the government that they sink no further monies into improvements on the road. Unfortunately they did not heed his advice and the road lingered for a few more years. 43

J. The Last Throes of the Dawson Road, the Canal at Fort Frances, 1873-1878

Despite Dawson's departure, the Thunder Bay <u>Sentinel</u> continued to tout the route, and Dawson's successors continued to crank out their annual reports to the Public Works Department and the Department of State. The 1878 report gave an indication that the road was in its terminal stage.

Meanwhile, there was one more effort expended before the Dawson Road expired. This was the attempt to build a steamboat lock at Fort Frances to move vessels from Rainy Lake past the raging waters of the Koochiching Falls to the Rainy River. This occurred between 1873 and 1878.

Digging began in 1876 on an 800 foot long canal on the Canadian side of the Rainy River at Fort Frances. The canal was to have a lock 200 feet by 38 feet, with five feet six inches of water over its sills at low There were to be several berthing wharves with the canal as well. A major requirement was the carving of a forty foot wide cut from a solid rock bank. Late in 1878 the excavation was completed and the workers were ready to start on the lock and lockgates. At this point Canadian politics intervened. In a general election that year the Liberals were turned out and the Tories took over. The Tories had committed themselves to building the Canadian Pacific Railway, and so the Dawson Route was dropped. A sum of \$288,278.51 had been spent on the Fort Frances Canal alone. A recent writer looking at the bright side of this debacle has pointed out that the canal was not a total loss as Backus used it as a waste water spillway for the hydroelectric dam he built there between 1903 and 1908. Evidence of the 1870s work can still be seen as one crosses the international bridge into Fort Frances. Over the years since, there been a number of proposals to convert the spillway into something akin to its original purposes, but nothing has ever come of it. 45

One of the oral interviews conducted by Mary Lou Pearson was with Mrs. Lida Biddeson whose husband's father came to Fort Frances in 1873 to work on the canal. Daniel Biddeson was a first class engineer and in 1876 he was lured away from the canal work to run the steamer Louisa Thompson between Fort Frances and Kettle Falls, running every other day. When canal construction stopped in 1878 most of the workers, several hundred people and their families, moved back east from whence they came. A few stayed, like the Biddesons, whose youngest son kept a journal for posterity which told how their family travelled over the Dawson Trail. Joseph Biddeson was the youngest of seven children who made the trip. 46

There is one more noteworthy journal that took note of the Dawson Trail before its demise. This was a diary kept by the Canadian Governor General's lady for the years 1872-1878. Her full name was Hariot

Georgina Rowan Hamilton Blackwood. She was also the Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava and is most frequently referred to as Lady Dufferin. She and a party of travelers made an excursion on the western segment of the road between Lake of the Woods and Fort Garry in 1877. Her conclusions about the corduroyed road concur with the majority opinion, that the Dawson Trail was a dismal failure. 47

K. The Canadian Pacific Railway Supercedes the Dawson Trail Forever in 1885

The Dawson Route continued to wither during the ensuing years as work on the Canadian Pacific Railway progressed. This railway was built in a peculiar way. Some of the segments on the western plains were completed in short order because of the flatness of the terrain. The portion between Lake Superior and the Red River presented formidable obstacles. Here were rock formations that had to be blasted with nitroglycerine, as well as swamps and morasses that presented varying features during the four seasons of the year. Some stretches were built on what was thought to be solid ground in winter. After the spring thaw these portions occasionally swallowed up a locomotive or two. 48

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The segment of railway that superceded the Dawson Route was begun on June 1, 1875, when the first sod was turned near Fort William on Thunder Bay, Lake Superior. The last spike was driven on that section, at least to Selkirk, Manitoba, on June 17, 1882. At that latter moment, a traveler from the east still had to cross Lake Superior by boat, as there were several breaks in the line along the northern shore of the lake. But on May 16, 1885, this deficiency was corrected when the last rail was laid there. So in 1885 the last nail was driven into the coffin of the Dawson Trail.

In conclusion, the Dawson Trail as associated with Voyageurs Park only skirted the eastern and northern edges of the present park boundary, and had a rather dismal existence during its heyday which extended in its busiest interval only from 1868 to 1876. After 1876 it had

a sort of desultory existence until 1885 when the Canadian Pacific Railway eliminated its reason for existence. After 1885 logging interests came into the Rainy Lake region and brought some activity to what had once been the western half of the Dawson Trail.

L. Other Ancillary Trails in the Vicinity of Voyageurs National Park: The Blackduck Trail

Leslie R. Beatty, a retired Minnesota forest ranger, published some of his recollections about the Voyageurs' country in the Conservation Volunteer during the 1960s. Beatty knew the border country well, traversing a great deal of it on foot, by canoe, with a team of horses, by rail, and by truck, auto, or airplane. He was a very history-conscious person who often looked for physical artifacts of events earlier than his own experience. Frequently he found old log cabins or other old structures, old rail beds, and, of particular interest to us, the traces of old trails through the northern woods. With all of his observations, he correlated what he saw with what he was told by pioneers and other oldtimers. He made comments on quite a few northern Minnesota trails, but only a half dozen of them have some relevancy to present day Voyageurs National Park.

The first of these trails is the Blackduck Trail. This was a winter trail from Tower, Minnesota, via defunct Rainy Lake City, to Koochiching or International Falls. Its total length was about ninety miles. Beatty said it was cut and used by timber land squatters, cruisers, gold seekers, and government contract mail carriers about 1890. We are interested in only that portion of the trail that crosses land now within the confines of Voyageurs National Park. It approached the present park by paralleling the Blackduck Creek Valley to the point where it joins the Ash River in Section 33, T68N R20W (still outside the park). After the Ash River crossing and until reaching Kabetogama Lake, the Blackduck Trail coincided with a "side alley" of the Nett Lake-Kabetogama Road, which we will discuss later.

Since the Blackduck Trail was a winter route, it proceeded along or on top of frozen watercourses, that being the most convenient way to proceed, either on foot or with snowshoes. Thus after crossing the Ash River at Section 28, T68N R20W, the traveller proceeded northwestward along the Ash River until said river turned northeastward. From this point until Kabetogama Lake, the foot slogger would cross considerable ground that was swampland in summertime. For this reason, the portion of the Blackduck Trail that is inside Voyageurs National Park would be untraceable today in so far as artifacts left by the travelers is concerned. But the trail did cross several hilly ridges, and here the walker doubtlessly followed the lower places between hills.

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To repeat, the Blackduck Trail, after leaving the Ash River in Section 20, T68N R20W, proceeded northwestward to debouch on Lake Kabetogama at Irwin Bay in Section 36, T69N R21W. Actually, an arm of Irwin Bay called Bowman Bay today was the point of exit. Thus at this place less than a thousand yards of trail crosses Voyageurs National Park territory on land, and that would be either through swampy ground (in summer) to the southeast or southwest of Bowman Bay.

After that the Blackduck Trail took out across the ice of Kabetogama Lake to Gold Portage where it came ashore at Section 30, T70N R21W. The Gold Portage section is entirely inside today's park.

The trail then crossed Black Bay on the ice and came ashore again at the defunct town of Rainy Lake City in Section 34, T71N R22W. This is also inside today's park.

After leaving Rainy Lake City, the Blackduck Trail terminated at the village of Koochiching, the last leg of the journey passing over both ice and short landed portions en route. This entire last leg of the trail is outside today's park.

Beatty knew of a few identifiable relics of the Blackduck Trail's existence, but none of them were inside the present park boundaries. He

knew of stopping places on Elbow Lake and Pelican River, but only speculated that travellers might have stopped over at Rat Portage Lumber camps or George Randolph's logging camp on Ash River T68N R20W, south of today's park. Beatty did say that in 1911 he found and inspected a number of widely scattered cabins between the town of Cusson and Irwin Bay on Kabetogama Lake. His guess was that the cabins had been built for the toting crews (camp supplies) of loggers, or for mail stage operators and their passengers. This latter guess seems to say that Beatty believed that the postal carriers used sleighs and horses over this winter route. ⁵⁰

M. The Crane Lake Portage

Strictly speaking, the Crane Lake Portage never entered what is now Voyageurs National Park, since its northern terminus was at the present town of Crane Lake, once Harding, Minnesota. But the subject is of interest to this study because that terminus location is still an entryway to the chain of lakes that <u>are</u> within the park. Also, before 1900, it was heavily used by pioneers, settlers, and gold seekers, both in summer and winter. Beatty stated that the old portage coincides pretty closely with modern day Highway #24, at least in so far as that road parallels the direct route between Vermillion Dam and Crane Lake, a distance of about twenty-six miles.

The Crane Lake Portage has some logging connections as well. It is said that the southern portion of the route was constructed by timber squatters about 1887 and that the northern half was built by George Randolph. According to Beatty, Randolph had been a logger in Michigan and eastern Ontario. When he moved into the area south of Namakan Lake and along the Ash River, he was supposedly a subcontractor for the Rat Portage Lumber Company, a wholly Canadian organization. Randolph got some help in blazing this trail from the Booth Fisheries Company. Thus the road was a supply route for Randolph and a market-access route for the fishermen. But usage got a big boost with the gold rush traffic in 1894. People who could not afford to pay for passage on the

various wagons, would utilize a parallel route proceeding down the Vermillion River by canoe in summer, portaging often on the way.

The Crane Lake Portage was much used until 1907 when the two rail systems reached the border at Ranier and International Falls. Until that year there were good steamboat connections between Crane Lake (Harding) and Ranier. 51

N. The Koochiching-Rainy Lake City Mail Route

The Koochiching-Rainy Lake City Mail Route coincided with the Crane Lake Portage Route for some miles. It began at the town of Tower instead of at Vermillion Dam, but at Section 28, T66N R17W (south of Crane Lake), it departed overland from the Crane Lake Portage in a northwesterly direction. It was only a winter route.

The only portion of this mail route that crossed into the present day park territory was the part that followed Daley Brook or Daley Bay on Kabetogama Lake. The trail met the lake at Section 32, T69N R20W. From this point onward it became one with the remaining portion of the Blackduck Trail (q.v.) which crossed Kabetogama Lake, Gold Portage, Black Bay, passed through Rainy Lake City, and over the ice on to Koochiching, the western terminal.

Once again George Randolph had an involvement with this route, and he helped lay it out as early as 1890. He and his partners used it to haul supplies, mail and passengers. 52

O. The Mine Center Mail Route

The Mine Center Mail Route was also a winter only route. Its <u>raison</u> <u>d'etre</u> was the gold strike on the Ontario side of Rainy Lake in about 1896. It is of interest to us because it used three well worn portages still extant within present day Voyageurs National Park.

This route broke off from connecting trails at Harding or Crane Lake, Minnesota. It headed north across Crane Lake, traversed Section 2, T67N R17W in a northeasterly direction, went north over Mukooda Lake, portaged northeastward in Section 26, T68N R17W onto Sand Point Lake, and then turned northwest on the ice up Grassy Bay. It crossed over to Namakan Lake via Grassy Portage at Sections 5 and 6, T68N R17W.

Beatty does not tell us precisely the route followed after Namakan Lake was reached. It could have followed the main Namakan channel via Kettle Falls or cut more directly across Canadian territory to Mine Center. This latter alternative would have involved utilization of Bear River northwards, following the Canadian channel east of Kettle Falls, finding Rat River Bay in Ontario, continuing northward over low frozen swamp to Shoal Lake on the Seine River. Mine Center was on the north shore of that lake. The other route continuing on the ice of Namakan and Rainy Lakes would have been considerably longer, but might have been less confusing to follow. Yet some portions of an all ice route could have been hazardous because of bad ice or swift water sections.

Be that as it may, the Mine Center Mail Route is of interest to us for its relationship to the eastern end of present day Voyageurs Park. Beatty tells us that the versatile entrepreneur, George Randolph, once more had a role in laying out this winter route. This time Randolph had set up a boarding house in Mine Center, and was ferrying freight, passengers and mail from Harding, Minnesota, to Mine Center, Ontario. The utility of this route endured only so long as the gold fever at Mine Center, which was brief. 53

P. The Moose River Tote Road

The Moose River Tote Road was also a winter-only route. It was first laid out in 1889 and was wholly related to logging operators. as a supply route. As with practically all of these trails near present day Voyageurs National Park, this tote road has associations with George

Randolph, the Rat Portage Lumber Company, as well as with Hank Saunders.

The tote road began at Harding, now called Crane Lake, Minnesota. It crossed the lake northwards and followed Rollick or Snake Creek to a point where that creek intersects with what is now the southern boundary of the park at Section 33, T68N R17W. From thence it proceeded westward to the southeast end of Johnson Lake over low ground, but had to cross one ridge that was perhaps a hundred feet high. Next the tote traversed the lengths of Johnson and Spring Lakes in a road northwesterly direction. Here the route was paralleling the present boundary of the park. From the northwest end of Spring Lake (outside the park), the tote road re-entered what is now the park via a ravine between two hills that were about two hundred feet above Spring Lake. The traveller had to climb only about half that height in a quarter mile The tote road connected with Nett Lake in Section 9, T68N portage. R18W, and continued northwestward over a portage onto Junction Bay at Section 4, T68N R18W. Having reached Kabetogama Lake at this point, the hauler of supplies could go east or west depending on which logging camp had need of the sleigh loads of food and equipment. Beatty says that the sleighs proceeded overland as much as possible on either Kabetogama Lake or Namakan Lake to avoid bad ice in the narrows. He added that the tote road had a long-lived usefulness, still being used in 1928 by Virginia and Rainy Lake Lumber Company as well as International Lumber Company (Backus) crews. Beatty says that loggers still used portions of this tract during the early 1960s, particularly the part along Rollick Creek, but that most overland sections were long abandoned and overgrown with brush. 54

Q. The Nett Lake-Kabetogama Road

The Nett Lake-Kabetogama Road was laid out in 1887 by the U.S. Indian Service. It was a year round route that was mainly on high ground. Only the northern terminus was on land that is now within the bounds of Voyageurs National Park. Its purpose was as a route to

deliver allotment payments and rations to the Chippewa at Gold Portage and Moose River. Presumably, the last portion of the trip was made by canoe or other boat. The road reached Kabetogama Lake in Section 36, T69N R21W. After a couple years existence, the northern portion of the Nett Lake-Kabetogama Road was integrated with the Blackduck Trail (q.v.).

After 1911 Beatty found a number of abandoned log cabins along this route, but most of them are beyond the confines of modern Voyageurs National Park. The most interesting sample, although outside the park, was near the present site of the Kabetogama Lookout Tower in Section 27, T68N R21W. This cabin was so perfectly constructed that Beatty thought it had been built by an accomplished axeman. Beatty researched the former ownership and believed that a man named Eli La Croix had built it. The cabin, unfortunately, was destroyed by fire in 1920. ⁵⁵

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

- 1. Pierre Berton, The Impossible Railway; The Building of the Canadian Pacific (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 35-40; hereafter cited as Berton.
- 2. Ibid., 36, 39-40.
- 3. Canada, Provincial Secretary's Office, <u>Papers</u> <u>Relative to the Exploration of the Country Between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement; presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, June 1859 (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1859) 19-20; hereafter referred to as 1859 Report.</u>
- 4. Lewis H. Thomas, "The Hind and Dawson Expeditions, 1857-58," The Beaver (Winter, 1958), 39-45; hereafter referred to as Thomas Article.
- 5. 1859 Report. Hind's map is an insert near the rear of the report. Dawson's route after Lac des Mille Lacs is described in his narrative between pages 79 and 81.
- Garnet Wolseley, "Narrative of the Red River Expedition," Part II Blackwood's Magazine (Edinburgh, Scotland: January, 1871), 66; hereafter cited as Wolseley Narrative.
- 7. Canada, Provincial Secretary's Office, Report on the Exploration of the Country Between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement; printed by order of the Legislative Assembly, May 10, 1858 (Toronto: John Lowell, 1858), 227; hereafter cited as 1858 Report.
- 8. <u>Ibid.</u>, Table extends from page 90 to 96, the information given here comes from page 93.
- 9. Ibid., 228-9.
- 10. 1859 Report, 42; Mary Lou Pearson, "The Dawson Trail: Land and Water Route," International Falls, undated typescript, VNP Files.
- 11. Endnotes 3 and 7 supra show that Dawson and Hind's reports were published in Toronto and London, though in different formats. The London report had only 163 pages, the Toronto report had 425 pages. There was a third version of only 45 pages printed in Toronto in 1859 by the Legislative assembly and attributed to Dawson alone. Hind had a parallel separate version of 201 pages printed in Toronto for the Legislative Assembly also in 1859. Then Hind put together a mammoth two volume set of 494 and 472 pages respectively that was printed privately in London by Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts in 1860. In them he related details of both the 1857 trek with Dawson, as well as his separate 1858 explorations along the

Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Rivers. The reports of the two menwere always somewhat redundant, yet dealt with the same territory from the differing vantage points of a surveyor and a geologist.

- 12. Thomas Article, 42-4.
- 13. Sandford Fleming, Memorial of the People of the Red River to the British and Canadian Governments, with remarks on the colonization of Central British North America, and the establishment of a great territorial road from Canada to British Columbia. Submitted to the Canadian Government by Sandford Fleming, C.E. (Quebec: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1863), 57 pages passim. Fleming later, in the 1870s, did a survey for the Canadian government to ascertain the best route for the Canadian Pacific Railway.
- 14. William L. Langer, ed., <u>An Enclopedia of World History</u> (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), 835; hereafter cited as World History. See also a map in Berton, page two.
- 15. Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, Return to an Address of the House of Commons; dated May 4, 1868; for copies of all reports since July 1, 1867, to the Government of the late Province of Canada, or of the Government of Canada which may have been made by the surveyors or other officers employed to construct roads and other works for the purpose of opening communication between the head of Lake Superior and the Red River. (Ottawa: 14 May 1868), Volume I, Number 9, 1867-8, Paper 81; hereafter cited as 1868 State Report. This included a 44 page report by Dawson on the line of route he had selected. The mileages are derived from a another Canada, Department of Public Works Document: General Report of the Minister of Public Works for the year ending June 30, 1868, Volume 2, Number 3, 1869, Paper 8, the Section on "Lake Superior and Red River Road", pages 34-6.
- 16. 1868 State Report, 25.
- 17. Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, Return to an Address of the House of Commons; dated April 23, 1869; ... (Ottawa, May 19, 1869), Volume 2, Number 5, 1869, Paper 42, with a report by Dawson included; Canada, Department of Public Works, General Report of the Minister of Public Works for the Year ending June 30, 1869, Ottawa, Volume 3, Number 1, 1870, Paper 2; Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, Return to an Address of the House of Commons; dated February 24, 1870, ... Ottawa, March 29, 1870, Paper 12; Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, Return to an Address of the House of Commons; dated April 13, 1870, ... Ottawa, May 12, 1870, Volume 3, Number 5, 1870, Paper 12.
- 18. Canada, Department of Public Works, <u>General Report of the Minister of Public Works for the year Ending June 30</u>, 1870, Ottawa, Volume 4, Number 2, 1871, Paper 4, page 134.

- 19. World History, 835-6.
- 20. Wolseley Narrative, Part II, January 1870, pages 48-73.
- 21. Ibid., 63-6.
- 22. Ibid., 65.
- 23. Garnet Wolseley, <u>The Story of a Soldier's Life</u> (London: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1903), 222; reprint ed. 1971, New York: Kraus Reprint Co.
- 24. Wolseley Narrative, Part I, 717. There are other narratives of the expedition that are contemporaneous. Dawson told about it in his annual report to the Secretary of State: Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, Return to an Address of the House of Commons; dated March 30, 1871; . . . (Ottawa, April 5, 1871), Volume 4, Number 6, of the expedition printed his lecture on the subject: Captain George L. Huyshe, "The Red River Expedition," Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, Volume 15, (London, 1871). One version of Wolseley's account was published as a government document: Garnet Wolsely Correspondence Relative to the Recent Expedition to the Red River Settlement: with Journal of Operations. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. (London: Harrison and Sons, 1871).
- 25. The fares and methods are in Canada, Department of Public Works, General Report of the Minister of Public Works for the Year Ending June 30, 1871 (Ottawa, 1872), Volume 5, Number 3, 1872, Paper 4.
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- 27. Ibid.
- 28. Grace Lee Nute, "On the Dawson Road," The Beaver, (Winter 1954-1955), 16-9.
- 29. Map from Wolseley Narrative opposite page 164; the details of the alternative route-segment is from Ocean to Ocean, 52-3.
- 30. Ocean to Ocean, 54-5.
- 31. Ibid., 54.

- 32. Ibid., 57.
- 33. Ibid., 71.
- 34. Ibid., 73-5.
- 35. William Watts Folwell, <u>A History of Minnesota</u> (Revised edition of 1969; St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society), III, 355.
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- 37. Irene J. Dawson, "The Dawson Route: 1857-1883: A Selected Bibliography with annotations," derived from Volume VIII of J. Wesley White's Bibliography of the Superior National Forest: Bibliography of Quetico-Superior History (Typescript, May, 1969), pages 63-73, No. 11, The Dawson Route, Item #24; hereafter cited as Irene Dawson's Bibliography. The information on the 1871 and 1873 reports is form ibid., items #22 and #23.
- 38. Irene Dawson's Bibliography, Items #25 and #26.
- 39. Berton, 37.
- 40. Ibid., 37-8.
- 41. Ibid., 38-9.
- 42. Ibid., 37-9.
- 43. Ibid., 39-40.
- 44. See items #27, #28, #29, #30, #31 and #32 of Irene Dawson's Bibliography.
- Robert F. Legget, "Century-old Fort Frances Canal remains one of 45. Canada's few unfinished public works," Canadian Consulting Engineer (July, 1974), 28-9. A U.S. Corps of Engineers report in 1905 also took note of the Canadian engineering feat at Fort Frances. At that time the place was nearly open to railway connections and more people had access to the area than hithertofore. While the eastern half of the Dawson Trail was totally abandoned in 1905, there was a great deal of steamer traffic on Rainy Lake, Rainy River, and Lake of the Woods. This data from U.S. Congress, House Report #431, Letter From the Secretary of War Transmitting, With A Letter From the Chief of Engineers, Report of Examination of Rainy River, Minnesota, House Doc. 431, 59th Cong., 1st sess., 1906, 7 pages, especially page 6; copy derived from National Archives Record Group 76, (Records of Boundary and Claims Commissions and Arbitrations), Entry 320, Box 1.

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- 47. Berton, 40, See also Lady Dufferin, My Canadian Journal, 1872-1878, (Don Mills, Ontario: Longmans Canada Limited, 1969), 260-276. This edition was edited and annotated by Gladys Chantler Walker.
- 48. Berton, 162-178.
- 49. <u>Ibid.</u>, Chronology, pages 535 to 544; See expecially pages 538, 541, and 543. Irene Dawson's Bibliography, Item #34, is the last General Report in the Public Works Department series; it is dated 1883, and has a summary covering the period 1 July 1867 to 30 June 1882. Here it states that the Dawson Route was abandoned in 1876.
- 50. Beatty, "A Forest Ranger's Diary", III: 15-7.
- 51. <u>Ibid</u>., 17-8.
- 52. Ibid., 19-9.
- 53. Beatty, "A Forest Ranger's Diary", IV: 55.
- 54. <u>Ibid.</u>, 55-6.
- 55. <u>Ibid.</u>, 56.

Figure 1: Canal on Rainy River at Fort Frances, Ontario, ca. 1900. This is probably what is left of the lock associated with the Dawson Trail. MHS Collections.

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VOYAGEURS HISTORICAL BASE MAP KEY

Commercial Fishing (Circle Symbol)

- 1. Section 26, T69N, R18W. Ed Town's fishing camp on a small island at the month of a deep slue on Namakan. VNP files.
- 2. Ed Town's fishing camp across from Ash River. VNP files.
- 3. Lot 1, Section 28, T69N, R19W. Ozzie and Fred Lessard's fishing camp near the mouth of Moose River. VNP files.
- 4. Section 5, T70N, R20W. Payson's fishing camp on Big Island. VNP files.
- 5. Section 30, T69N, R18W. Bert Phillips fishing camp on Sheens Point, Namakan Lake. VNP files.
- 6. Bert Phillips fishing camp on Pig Island. VNP files.
- 7. Section 29, T69N, R17W. Torry's fishing shack on an island on the east end of Namakan Lake. VNP files.
- 8. Site of Lessard's railroad across Kettle Falls on which he hauled fish. VNP files.
- 9. SE¼ of SE¼, Section 23, T69N, R20W. Fishing shacks on the south shore of Round Bear Island. VNP files.
- 10. SW¼ of SE¼, Section 28, T69N, R18W. Bill Randolph's commercial fishery. VNP files.
- 11. SW¼ of NE¼, Section 30, T69N, R18W. Bert Phillips' fishing camp. VNP files.
- 12. NE¼ of NW¼, Section 22, T69N, R19W. Tarring site for fishing activities. VNP files.
- 13. SE¼ of SW¼, Section 12, T69N, R19W. Torry's fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 14. SW¼ of SW¼, Section 18, T70N, R18W. Ed Stoffel's fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 15. S½ of NE¼, Section 20, T69N, R19W. Five buildings which comprise a fishing camp and sawmill. VNP files.
- 16. SW¼ of NE¼, Section 25, T69N, R20W. Site of a fishing camp. VNP files.

- 17. NE¼ of NE¼, Section 26, T69N, R20W. Fishing camp. VNP files.
- 18. NW¹/₄, Section 13, T69N, R20W. Fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 19. NE¼ of NW¼, Section 32, T71N, R20W. Fishing camp. VNP files.
- 20. NW¼ of SE¼, Section 33, T71N, R20W. Fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 21. NW4 of SW4, Section 25, T69N, R21W. Fishing camp. VNP files.
- 22. NE¼ of NE¼, Section 13, T69N, R21W. Fishing camp. VNP files.
- 23. SE¼ of SE¼, Section 25, T71N, R21W. Tarring site. VNP files.
- 24. SW4 of NE4, Section 35, T71N, R21W. Tarring site. VNP files.
- 25. SE¼ of NW¼, Section 34, T71N, R21W. Fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 26. SE¼ of SW¼, Section 34, T71N, R21W. Fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 27. SE¼ of NE¼, Section 34, T71N, R21W. Fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 28. SE¼ of NW¼, Section 35, T71N, R21W. Fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 29. NE¼ of SW¼, Section 31, T71N, R20W. Fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 30. SW¼ of NE¼, Section 33, T71N, R21W. Fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 31. SW¼ of SE¼, Section 33, T71N, R21W. Fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 32. SW4 of SW4, Section 33, T71N, R21W. Tarring site. VNP files.
- 33. NW4 of NE4, Section 32, T71N, R21W. Fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 34. SW¼ of NE¼, Section 30, T70N, R21W. Fishing camp site and early logging camp site. VNP files.
- 35. SE¼ of SE¼, Section 24, T71N, R22W. Fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 36. SE¼ of SE¼, Section 25, T71N, R21W. Fishing camp and Tarring site. VNP files.

- 37. SE¼ of SE¼, Section 13, T69N, R19W. Fishing camp site. VNP files.
- 38. SW4 of NW4, Section 27, T70N, R18W. Tarring site. VNP files.
- 39. SE¼ of NW¼, Section 35, T69N, R18W. Fishing camp sile. VNP files.
- 40. NE¼ of SE¼ of NE¼, Section 25, T71N, R21W and NW¼ of SW¼ of SW¼, T71N, R20W. Possible fishing camp. VNP files.
- 41. NE¼ of SW¼, Section 21, T70N, R18W. Fishing camp site on Rabbit Island. VNP files.
- 42. Birch Point, Rainy Lake. Off map to the west. VNP files.
- 43. Cemetery Island, Namakan Lake. Van Horn interview.
- 44. Cranberry Bay, Middle Island, Rainy Lake. VNP files.
- 45. Dry Weed Island, east end, Rainy Lake. Van Horn interview.
- 46. Kubel Island, Namakan Lake. International Falls, Daily Journal.
- 47. Rabbit Island, Rainy Lake. VNP files.

Logging (Square Symbol)

- 2. NE¼ of NE¼, Section 34, T70N, R21W. Lumber camp site. VNP files.
- 3. NW4 of NE4, Section 34, T70N, R21W. Logging site. VNP files.
- 4. SE¼ of NW¼, Section 1, T69N, R21W. Lumber camp site. VNP files.
- 5. NE¼ of SW¼, Section 2, T69N, R21W. International lumber camp No. 158 VNP files.
- 6. NW% of NE%, Section 26, T69N, R20W. Baily Log Towing Company site. VNP files.
- 7. SW4 of NW4, Section 34, T70N, R18W. Logging camp site. VNP files.
- 8. NE¼ of NE¼, Section 30, T70N, R18W. Logging camp site. VNP files.
- 9. 1938 CCC side camp on north side of Kabetogama Narrows (Rudder Bay).
- 10. SW¼ of SW¼, Section 10, T68N, R17W. International lumber camp site (193233). VNP files.

- 11. Section 34, T69N, R21W. CCC camp 581, one mile south of Gappas Landing. VNP files.
- 12. NE¼ of SW¼, Section 35, T70N, R19W. Historic debris. VNP files.

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- 13. NE¼ of NW¼ of SW¼, Section 24, T70N, R21W. CCC Camp 724 on south shore of War Club Lake. VNP files.
- 15. Lot 3, Section 27, T69N, R19W. Tom and George Beatty's first logging camp (1886). VNP files.
- 16. Section 16, T69N, R19W. Area logged by the Bailey Lumber Company. VNP files.
- 17. NW¼ of NW¼, Section 29, T69N, R19W. Sites of an International Lumber Company and 1935-36 CCC camps. VNP files.
- 18. SW% of NE%, Section 27, T69N, R20W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 21. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 19. E½ of SE¼, Section 31, T69N, R20W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 22. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 20. SE¼ of NW¼, Section 5, T68N, R19W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 23. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 21. Lot 4, Section 34, T69N, R19W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 25. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 22. NW¼ of SE¼, Section 17, T69N, R21W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 29. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 23. SW¹/₄ of SW¹/₄, Section 24, T69N, R20W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 30. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 24. SW¹/₄ of SE¹/₄, Section 35 T70N, R21W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 31. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 25. SE¼ of SE¼, Section 28, T69N, R17W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 35. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 26. SE¼ of NE¼, Section 17, T68N, R17W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 36. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 27. Lot 4, Section 35, T70N, R19W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 53. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 28. NE¼ of SE¼, Section 34, T69N, R19W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 75 (old 25). St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 29. NE¼ of NW¼, Section 18, T69N, R19W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 80. St. Louis County Historical Society.

- 30. NE¼ of SE¼, Section 16, T69N, R20W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 84. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 31. SE¼ of NE½, Section 12, T69N, R21W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 85. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 32. NW% of NW%, Section 3, T69N, R20W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 99. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 33. SW¼ of SW¼, Section 32, T70N, R20W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 100. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 34. SE¼ of SW¼, Section 2, T69N, R20W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 103. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 35. SW¼ of NW¼, Section 32, T69N, R18W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 111. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 36. S½ of SW¼, Section 32, T70N, R19W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 118. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 37. N½ of NW¼, Section 16, T69N, R19W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 119. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 38. NE¼ of NW¼, Section 14, T69N, R19W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 129. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 39. SW¼ of SW¼, Section 3, T68N, R18W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 130. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 40. SW¼ of SW¼, Section 35, T70N, R19W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 131. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 41. SW¼ of SW¼, Section 28, T70N, R18W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 133. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 42. SW¼ of SE¼, Section 24, T70N, R20W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 136. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 43. NW¼ of NE¼, Section 22, T70N, R20W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 137. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 44. Center of Section 16, T70N, R20W. Virginia and Rainy Lake lumber camp 143. St. Louis County Historical Society.
- 45. Sections 2 and 3, T68N, R19W. Virginia and Rainy Lake railway site. VNP files.
- 46. Sections 34 and 35, T69N, R19W. Virginia and Rainy Lake railway site. VNP files.

- 47. Sections 32 and 33, T69N, R19W. Virginia and Rainy Lake railway site. VNP files.
- 48. SW4 of NE4, Section 30, T70N, R21W. Early logging camp and fishing camp sites. VNP files.
- 49. SE¼ of SE¼ of SE¼, Section 23, T69N, R20W. Lumber camp. VNP files.
- 50. SW¼ of NW¼ of SW¼, Section 15, T69N, R20W. CCC logging camp near the beginning of Shoepack Trail. VNP files.
- 51. SE¼ of NW¼ of SE¼, Section 26, T69N, R19W. Possible site of logging camp. VNP files.
- 52. S½ of NE½, Section 20, T69N, R19W. Five buildings identified as a sawmill and commercial fishing camp. 1975 Survey of Historic Structures. VNP files.

Homestead (Diamond Symbol)

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- 2. John Slatinski raised his family at mouth of Ash River. VNP files.
- 3. Section 34, T70N, R20W. Hennis Kessinum, a trapper, built a shack on the island in Shoepack Lake. VNP files.
- 4. Lot 5, Section 21, T70N, R18W. Log cabin located on Snake Island. VNP files.
- 5. Lot 4, Section 28, T69N, R19W. Site of Dutch Messenger's 1930s
- 6. Site of Johnny Clay Pipe's cabin on the east side of the Ash River where it turns south. VNP files.
- 7. NW¼, Section 33, T69N, R19W. Cabin site on very tip of Old Dutch Bay. VNP files.
- 8. SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$, Section 33, T69N, R19W. Remains of Joe Beagle's (Swift Feather) cabin which burned in 1953. VNP files.
- 9. NW½ of NW¼, Section 4, T68N, R18W. Historic house site which is possibly the 1890s half-way house. VNP files.
- 10. NW¼ of SE¼, Secion 2, T68N, R17W. Site of Swanson's log cabin. He was one of the first settlers. VNP files.
- 11. NW¼ of SW¼ of NW¼, Section 12, T67N, R17W. Site of a wooden foundation which the owner found when he built there in 1927. VNP files.

- 12. SW¼ of SW¼, Section 35, T70N, R19W. Remains of a log cabin on Weir Lake. VNP files.
- 13. SW4 of SE4, Seciton 21, T70N, R18W. Historic debris. VNP files.
- 14. NW¼ of NE¼ of NE¼, Section 30, T70N, R18W. Outline of house, outhouse, roads, and bridge. VNP files.
- 15. NE¼ of SW¼ of NE¼ of SE¼ of SE¼, Section 32, T70N, R18W. Site of Catamaran's homestead. VNP files.
- 16. Site of Jimmy Hamilton's cabin on Junction Bay which burned. VNP files.
- 17. Charlie Anderson lived at Gappas Landing. VNP files.
- 18. Sections 14 and 15, T69N, R20W. Charlie Anderson built a houseboat which was moved to Lost Bay when he died.
- 19. Lot 3, Section 25, T69N, R21W. Site of the grave of a fourteen year old girl who died in the 1890s when her family camped here. VNP files.
- 20. Site of Oliver and Annie Knox homestead on Knox Island (now called Pine Island). VNP files.
- 21. Section 9, T68N, R17W. Jack Murphy occupied a cabin here on Grassy Bay from 1910 to 1958 or 1959. VNP files.
- 22. Section 20, T69N, R19W. Kohler, a linotype operator from Chicago, had a cabin on the point as one enters Kohler's Bay. VNP files.
- 23. Moxie Island named for Moxie Letsze who had a cabin on the southeast side.
- 24. NE¼ of NE¼ of SW¼, Section 16, T70N, R20W. Foundation of a house on the inlet at the extreme southeast end of Hitchcock Bay and some old roads. VNP files.
- 25. NE¼ of SW¼ of NE¼, Section 24, T70N, R20W. Log cabin. VNP files.
- 26. NE¼ of SW¼ of SW¼, Section 18, T70N, R19W. Two or three house foundations. VNP files.
- 27. S½ of SW¼ of NW¼, Section 4, T68N, R18W. Root cellar and metal barrel hoops at the south end of Junction Bay along the north shore. VNP files.
- 28. NW¼ of NE¼ of NE¼, Section 29, T69N, R17W. Log cabin. VNP files.

Mining (Triangle Symbol)

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- 1. Tilson and Grassy Island Mines on Grassy Island. VNP files.
- 2. SW4 of SW4, Section 25, T71N, R22W. Unnamed mine. VNP files.
- 3. Markham mine on island one mile east of Rainy Lake City. It was never worked beyond the exploratory stage. VNP files.
- 4. Big Chicago mine located one-half mile west of Rainy Lake City adjoining the Little American mine. VNP files.
- 5. Little Chicago mine located one-half mile east of Rainy Lake City. VNP files.
- 6. SE¼ of SW¼, Section 23, T71N, R22W. Old Soldier mine. VNP files.
- 7. SW¼ of SW¼, Section 26, T71N, R22W. A vein was uncovered on a blunt point of land. VNP files.
- 8. NW¼, Section 26, T71N, R23W. Some small veins on Kingston Island which were worked in 1894. Not shown on the map. VNP files.
- 9. A partial mine drift on an island nearest the west of Little American. VNP files.
- 10. A twenty-five feet shaft dug by the Syndicate Mining Company on an island one and a half miles east of Rainy Lake City. VNP files.
- 11. Section 30, T71N, R21W. Evidence of blasting on an island three miles east of Rainy Lake City. VNP files.
- 12. Ben Franklin mine on a thirty-acre island west of Scott Island. VNP files.
- 13. NW¼ of SE¼, Section 26, T71N, R22W. Bushyhead gold mine site. VNP files.
- 14. NE¼ of NE¼, Section 34, T71N, R22W. Site of Gold Harbor or Holdman gold mine. VNP files.
- 15. E½, Section 34, T71N, R22W. Site of Rainy Lake City gold mine. VNP files.
- 16. NE¼ of NW¼, Section 33, T71N, R22W. Little American gold mine (National Register). VNP files.
- 17. NE¼ of NW¼, Section 6, T69N, R18W. Mica mining site. VNP files.
- 18. SW¼ of SW¼, Section 25, T71N, R22W. Unnamed mine shaft. VNP files.

- 19. Lot 5, Section 27, T71N, R22W. Big American gold mine site. VNP files.
- 20. SE¼ of SE¼, Section 34, T70N, R19W. Mining site test holes. VNP files.
- 21. SE¼ of SE¼, Section 23, T71N, R22W. Lyle gold mine. VNP files.
- 22. SE¼ of SW¼ of SW¼, Section 25, T71N, R22W. A gold mine shaft on the west end of a small island north of Dove Bay. VNP files.

Chippewa (Oblong Symbol)

- 1. Lot 4, Section 21, T69N, R19W. A supposed burial area on the tip of Tar Point. VNP files.
- 2. Wake-um-up Island where Chief Wakeumup lived. VNP files.
- 3. Cemetery Island a Chippewa burial ground. VNP files.
- 4. A cemetery and small village in T69N, R19W just north of Hoist Bay. VNP files.
- 5. Village sites on western shores and islands of Kabetogama Lake. VNP files.
- 6. Camp or village sites on south shore of Black Bay near the eastern side. VNP files.
- 7. No of NE, Section 22, T70N, R20W. Possible Indian Village site on a small peninsula south of Kawawia Island. VNP files.
- 8. NW¼ of SW¼ of NE¼, Section 27, T69N, R19W. A supposed burial ground which is now covered by water. VNP files.
- 9. Section 27 and center bottom of Section 22, T69N, R19W. Historic Chippewa village which was abandoned in the late 1920s. VNP files.
- 10. Williams Island, south part of Cemetery Island, and adjacent part of Sweetnose Island were used as Chippewa gathering areas. VNP files.
- 11. NE¼, Section 31, T70N, R21W. Historic Chippewa village site. VNP files.

Bootlegging (Oval Symbol)

1. A saloon was built on Little Martin Island in Kabetogama Lake in 1918. It included a bar and bunkhouse. VNP files.

- 2. A round saloon site on Round Bear Island. VNP files.
- 3. Harry Smith had a saloon in Tango Bay west of Dryweed Island, Rainy Lake. VNP files.
- 4. Bert Osborn and Harry Buck made poor quality moonshine in Joe LaBounty's shack on Moose Bay. VNP files.
- 5. Blind Pig Still site on Blind Pig Island in Namakan Lake. VNP files.
- 6. Harry Maines, a moonshiner, had a cabin in the Hoist Bay area. VNP files.
- 7. Jug Island was a way station where bootleggers and commercial fishermen hid their jugs for safekeeping. There are two Jug Islands one in Namakan Lake and one in Kabetogama Lake. Data does not indicate which Jug Island is correct.
- 8. Moxie Island named for Moxie Letsze. He had a cabin there where he made moonshine. VNP files.
- 9. Bill Randolph had a saloon below the dam at Kettle Falls before the dam was built. VNP files.

Resort (Hexagonal Symbol)

- 1. Site of Tom Watson's store at Gappa's Landing on Kabetogama Lake. VNP files.
- 2. Site of the Kabetogama Hotel at Gappa's Landing on Kabetogama Lake. The hotel was razed in the 1960s. VNP files.

As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The department also has major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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